A FIFTEENTH CENTURY SHUTTARI SUFI SAINT OF NORTH BIHAR.

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No where did Sufism which reinterpreted Semitic Islam to the Aryan world flourish so much and gain so many adherents as in India, for the Sufi with his doctrine of the mystical union of man's soul with God, regarding the world of phenomena as a mere reflection of the Supreme Being, requiring the aid of spiritual guides so as to be capable of reaching God, emphasizing faith rather than work for the salvation of men, believing in the moral elevation of man and discarding all individious social distinctions, suspending respiration or regulating breath, and given to other spiritual exercises, established himself in India, the land of the Vedanta, Yoga and Bhakti, where the whole atmosphere was surcharged with a deep yearning and quest for God, and the need was felt by a band of Hindu Seers and reformers for a great spiritual regeneration and social uplift of fellowmen. The Muslim Saints and Sufis of various orders, each with a discipline and organization of its own, concerned themselves not only with the development of mystical doctrines but also with the propagation of their faith. That the Sufi Saints and Missionaries were largely responsible for the peaceful[1] penetration of Islam in India is now an admitted fact. But very little is known about the part played in this respect by Sufi Saints of Bihar some of whom were of outstanding personalities and of wide and far reaching influences. The little that has been written[2] so far is mostly about the Saints of south Bihar and little or no notice has been taken of those[3] whose field of activities lay across

1. Preaching of Islam by Sir Thomas Arnold; Indian Islam by Titus Murray.
2. See the writer's papers in J. B. O. R. (Se Patna) and B. P & P. (Calcutta).
3. Those who did not belong to the Shuttari order included, among others, the following :—Syed Ibrahim Chisti (657 D.) father of the well known Makhdoom Adam Sufi (d. 670) ; Mir Taqiuddin alias Mir Budhe Chisti, the son of Mir Jalaluddin Chisti of Kalpi (D. 899).

the Ganges in north Bihar.[4] Many of them belonged to the Shuttari[5] order of Sufis about which, unlike the Chisti, Qadri Suharwardi, Naqshbandi orders etc., nothing is practically known, specially to the English reading public. The few lines in Encyclopaedia of Islam and the passing notice in the articles of the Indian Culture, about the introduction of this order in India are not only inadequate but in some respects misleading. It is not a fact that "allusions to the order in Sufi literature are rare," that "its head quarter in India was at Jaunpur," that "the Indians could not accept him[6] (pioneer of the order) warmly for the reason of novelties introduced by him," that "we do not

4. Mir Qutbuddin (d. 960), Shaikh Abdul Hai Chisti, son of Jalalulddin Haque *alias* Qazi Khan Nasihi (d. 931), Makhdum Shah Sultan Husain of Darbhanga (d. 815), Makhdom Syed Hassan of Saran and his son Pir Damaria, 1 of Hajipur (D. in 945 and 972), Sh. Barkatullah Raju Qattal of Darbhanga (d. 895) the spiritual disciple of Syed Md. Gisudaraz (d. 825 A.H.) Sh. Dilawar Sher Chabuk Sawar of Ladauli in Saran, Mir Abdul Mallick of Ushri, Saran (d. 911), Sd. Fattu and Sh. Burhan of Salimabad who died a martyr during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlak at Bargazar, Maulana Khawaja Ali of Teghra, the disciple of Hazrat Shahbaz of Bhagalpur of Shahjahan's time, Shah Birkhe of Darbhanga (d. at Amethi 997), Sh. Zahid of Saran, Shah Hafiz, the spiritual guide of Shah Daulat Maneri, Shah Shariatullah *alias* Shah Charra, Shah Majzub of Darbhanga, Sh. Zakaria Mazindrani of Shuorah, Jandaha, etc. Pir Shah Nasir, of Darbhanga, a disciple of Hazrat Ashraff Jahangir, H. Shah Tajuddin Chisti of Darbhanga, sister's, son of the celebrated saint Nasiruddin Chiragh, Delhi, Bhika Shah Sailani of Darbhanga etc.

5. Seekers of truth and knowers of God, we are told, by the pioneer of the Shuttari order and the author of Lataif Ghaibi, are of three types, Akhyar, Abrar, and Shuttar. The title Shuttar literally means clever, fast going, abandoning taking sides etc. The Shuttari order, also called Ishquia, Bustamia or Taefuria Firdusia, is the way of those mystics who turning aside from everything except the vision of God's beauty attain God within the shortest possible time, profiting, directly by spiritual grace and rapture rather than, as in the case of other orders, through austerities and self mortifications.

6. The first man to receive the title of Shuttar from his Pir, Sh. Md. Arif Taifuri, who afterwards sent him to India, sometime in the early decades of the 8th century Hijra, was Sh. Abdullah Shuttari, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Sufi Mystic, Sh. Shahbuddin Suharwardi, and 5th in line of spiritual succession from Shaikh Nizamuddin Kubra (d. 628), the founder of the Firdusia order Sh. Bayazid Taifur Bustami of the 8 A.D. is said to have been the original exponent of the shuttari principles Travelling widely in Persia and Iraq he came to India, met the 3 Saints of Manikpur including Makhdum Husamuddin (D. 853), saw Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi at Jaunpur (D., 840), paid a visit to Bihar and Bengal and then went Mandu where he finally settled down and died in 890. He wrote a book Lataif-i-Ghaibi as we learn from his chief disciple, the saint of Basarh, at the instance of Mushir-ul-Mulk, the minister of Sultan Ghayasuddin Khilji of Malwa (1469—1500) and dealing with the Doctrines of this order, specially the principles of affirmation (Isbat) and negation (Nafi).

know the extent of his success in India", and that "he died in Malwa in 1406[7] A.D." Neither time and space nor the occasion permit a detailed consideration or even a bare outline of the theological position and theosophical principles of the Shuttari order, but it is worth while to write something about the importance of the Shuttari order, with special reference to the life, work, and influence of one of the greatest of their saints of India, who flourished in the fifteenth century in North Bihar, on the basis of materials locally available, particularly one of his own rare works which has come down to us in a manuscript form.

Though Abul Fazal[8] does not include the Shuttari Silsila in his list of 14 orders in India, he admits that his list is not exhaustive and he mentions the order in more than one place and says that his famous father, Shaikh Mobarak, profited by the intructions of men of the Shuttari order. Abul Fazal's sister's son, and the Editor of his epistolery compositions gives us valuable information in his rare Tazkira, *Akhbar-ul-Asfia*, still in MS, about some[9] of the saints of the Shuttari order including Shaikh Abdullah and his chief disciple, Shaikh Abul Faiz Md. Bin Ola alias Qazin Shuttari of Bania Basarah, in Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar. Another contemporary of Akbar, the historian and traditionist, Sh. Abdul Haque[10] of Delhi, and a contemporary of Jahangir and Shahjahan, Sh. Abdul Rahman Chisti of Amethi (Oudh), the respective authors of the standard biographical dictionaries of saints, namely Akhbarul Akhyar

7. This date, given in Khazinat ul Asfia and Khazinatul Ansab, is obviously wrong for Sh. Qazin was initiated in the Shuttari order by Sh. Abdullah in 881 or 1486.

8. Ain-i-Akbari.

9. Abdus Samad writes about Sh. Umar of Thatta 'one of the great Mashaikhsh" who taught Sh. Yusuf about the Shuttari Taifuri, Chisti, Suharwardi orders, and it was at the instance of the latter that Shaikh Mubarak went to Agra in 950. He also gives an account of Mir Syed Ali Qawam of Jaunpur (D. 905), "one of the chief saints of Hindustan" who received his spiritual grace from Sh. Quazin bin Ola Shuttari.

10. See the Proc. I. H. Co. Bombay, about the historical importance of his writings. He is the author of a general history of India named Tarikh-i-Haqqi.

and Mirat[11]-ul-Asrar, have noticed someof the saintsof the Shuttari order including Shaikh Fariduddin[12] Jahangir alias Sh. Bahlul or Phool and his more famous brother, Sh. Khatiruddin alias Sh. Md. Ghaus of Gawalior, one of the greatest Sufi saints in India, and their spiritual guide, Shaikh Zahur Haji Hamid[13] Hazur, who lies buried at Ratansarai in Saran district, and the latter's spiritual directors, the saints of Basarah and his son, Sh. Abul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast of Tankol in Muzaffarpur district. The celebrated Shuttari saint of Gawlior whom Babar in his Memoires describes as a learned Darvesh with a large following of students and disciples, and to whose brother, emperor Humayun was greatly

11. Kujhwa MS.

12. The two brothers practised austerities and self mortification for a period of 13 years and 7 months in the fort of Chunar under the spiritual directions of Shaikh Zahur Haji Hamid Huzur.

13. Emperor Humayun became the Murid of Sh. Bhul (Bahlol) or Phool. As long as he was alive no harm occurred to Humayun. According to the author of Miftahul Fuqara Sh. Bahlul or Phool had written a book, Bahrul-Anwar, for the guidance of Emperor Humayun. When in 945 Mirza Hindal. younger brother of the emperor, turned against the latter, the Shaikh was sent to pacify him. But the Mirza made the Shaikh a Martyr. "Faqad Mata Shahida" is the chronogram of his death. Emperor Akbar became Murid of Sh. Md. Ghaus and so long as he lived he remained genuinely attached to him (M.A., AS. MT. M-U) But Abul Fazal was no admirer of the two brothers and says that they exploited their sainthood to acquire lands and villages and he doubts their learning and says that by practising Magic and incantation with the Divine Name and living in hilly hermitages they impressed simpletons and even princes and nobles.

14. Son of Maulana Zahiruddin Ghaznavie who was killed on his way while taking his infant son to Gwalior. He had lost his mother soon after his birth in 835 and was brought up by a wet nurse. From the very beginning he was religious minded, simple and pious, and remained celibate throughout his life. After travelling widely in this country and in Arabia he was ordered while at Mecca to return to India. He picked up two boys, the future saints, Bahlol and Ghaus, imparted religious knowledge to them, made them practise austerities in Kalinjar and in the hills of Chunar, and then initiated them into Shuttari order which he had himself joined under the guidance of his Pir Sh. Quazin of Basarh. The latter entrusted him with the Khirqa and other emblems of his succession which he delivered to the saint's third son, Abul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast and was magnanimous enough to acknowledge him as his guide. He died on 22 Zilhijja 930 at the age of 95 and lies buried at Ratansarai in Saran District as we learn from a MS, Maqabir-i-Aulia by Mulla Naseer, compiled at the instance of prince Azimusshan. Shaikh Qazin's five chief disciples were his eldest son, Rukn Alam, Abayazid, son of his eldest brother, Haji Hamid Hasur, Haji Badhe, a grandson of Sh. Sadruddin Chiragh-i-Hind of Zafarabad (D. 789), and Syed Jalaluddin, the grand father of the Diwan Syed Md. Jafar Qadri, the famous saint of Barh (D. 11-1 or 1669).

attached, and about whom, to quote the historian, Nizamuddin[15] "His Majesty the Khalifa-i-Elahi (Akbar) had a very high opinion" writes in a reverential tone in his well known work Jawahir-i-Khamsa[16], which was translated into Arabic by Sh. Sibghatullaht[17] of Baroach (Gujarat), about his spiritual guide, the saint of Saran who was the disciple of the son of the great saint of Basarh. Maulana Md. Ghaus bin Hassan Shuttari, a contemporary of Akbar and Jahangir, and a friend of the author of Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, was born in 962 and he has devoted much of his valuable book, Gulzar-i-Abrar[18], completed between 1014 and 1022, to the saints of Shuttari order, including those mentioned above. He was the disciple of the celebrated Maulana Wajihullah[19] Gujrati, the author of commentaries of many learned works and many noble treatises including some which form the earliest specimens of Urdu prose. The latter whom Jahangir describes as a pious ascetic Darvesh possessed of spiritual perfection and whose Khanqah was visited by the Emperor, became a disciple of the saint of Gawlior. Thus the spiritual inspiration of the saints of Basrah and Saran flowed through that of Gawlior to Gujarat and Deccan. Maulana Wajihullah's disciple, the learned Sighatullah Baroachi Madani, was the spiritual guide of Ahmad Shinnasi 18--(d. 1028),

13. Tabakaat-i-Akbari.

14. The saint of Gwalior who died in 970 or 1562 wrote other books also such as Mirajnama, Auradi-i-Ghausia, Bahrul-hayat. The first raised such a controversy that the saint had to flee to Gujrat to escape the wrath of Sher Shah and was saved by the intervention of Maulana Wajihuddin Gujrati. Badayuni who saw him at Agra in 966 A.H. says something interesting about him and his relation with Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan and Shaikh Gadai (M.T.).

15. According to the author of Azkarul Abrar he went to Malwa in 998 and thence proceeded through Khandesh to Ahmednagar, Deccan, where he was honoured by its ruler, Burhanul Mulk. Next year he went to Bijapur whose ruler welcomed him. He then disposed of every thing that he possessed and left for Madina in 1015 where he died in 1019.

16. Tazkirat ul Abrar, translation of Gulzar-Abrar.

17. An Alavi Syed, a great teacher, a prolific writer, and a pious saint who, according to Abul Fazal, spent his whole life in poverty fasting and reliance on God. For fifty years he imparted lessons to his pupils. He died in 998. When the Ulema, including Sh. Ali Muttaqi Gujrati, condemned Sh. Ghaus of Gwalior he refused to sign the Mahzar prepared against him and saved him from the wrath of Sher Shah. After a personal discusssion with the saint of Gawalior he became his disciple.

the author of a commentary on Muwahib-ul-Ladunnia, and the latter was the spiritual director of Sh. Safiuddin Qushashi[20] Madani (D. 1071), who wrote a book in Arabic named Samtul Majid[21] which contains an account of the Shuttari saints and their connections with other orders. Quashashi's father-in-law met at Medina Sh. Mahmud[22] Shuttari, a grandson of the saint of Basarh. A disciple of Qushashi Madani named Ibrahim Bin Hassan Kurd (u.1112), was the father of Sh. Abu Tahir[23] Madani (d. 1145) who was the teacher and spiritual guide of the great Delhi theologian and traditionist, Shah Waliullah, whose daughter's son, Ismael, was one of the great leaders of the puritanical[24] movement in India. Other notable disciples of Ibrahim Kurd were[25] Abdullah Sālim of Basra (d. 1124) and Sh. Ahmad Nakhlí (d. 1114) who besides being a mystic was a traditionist.

Thus the fact that the Sufis of the Shuttari order occupied an important place in the history of religion and learning and the light of spiritual knowledge that was lit in Mandu and North Bihar illumined the distant corners not only of India but also outside regions will have to be admitted by those who care to study the existing literature on the subject. But for the limited space at our disposal we could have made mention of other mystics[25] of the Shuttari order of Bihar, Jaunpur, Deccan, Gujarat, and elsewhere and referred to later Tazkirahs and books which

20. Ibid.

21. Published by Dairatul Maarif, Hyderabad. The present writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge his indebtedness to Maulana Hakim Syed Muhammad Shoaib Saheb of Phulwari for his help and guidance. He allowed his mss. and books to be utilized and also gave many valuable hints.

22. Samtul Majid.

23. Fuyuzul Haramain by Shah Waliullah' Muhaddis-i-Delhavi.

24. Ismail Shahid and Syed Ahmad of Bareilly (1782—1831) had acquired enormous following by preaching the purification of the faith back to its primitive simplicity and were the sponsers of the Wahabi movement in India. They died fighting a holy war against the Sikhs who were oppressing the Muslims of the Punjab.

25. An interesting figure was Shaikh Baddhan Shuttari and a contemporary of Emperor Shikander Lodi who, according to the author of Akhbar-ul-Akhyar, taught Zikr to his famous uncle Shaikh Rizqullah, poetically surnamed Mushtaqi. Rizqullah was the author of Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi. Rajan was his Hindi surname. He wrote Hindi verses and was the author of Jot Niranjan Sh. Baddhan and his disciple, Sh. Fiddan, Sh. Wali, Sh. Bahauddin and Sh. Haji did more to spread the teachings of the Shuttari order. Sh. Bahauddin also wrote a Risala on the principles of the order,

contain accounts of, or references to, the saints, indebted directly or indirectly to the Shuttari Sufi of Bihar. But it seems necessary to say something about the rare Mss. discovered in Bihar, one of them being Aurad-i- Imamuddin[26] Rajgiri, and another Manahij-us[27]-Shuttar by Sh. Qazin of Basarh. The author of the first which is a compendium of the principles and practices of what is called Madhhab-i-Shuttar and also the compiler of the Malfuzat-i-Diwan Ruknuddin Shuttari was a well ,known saint of Rajgir, named H. Abdul Haseeb alias Imamuddin whose blessings were sought, shortly befor his death, by Farrukhseyar[28] while that prince was on his way from Bihar to Agra to contest for the imperial throne with his uncle, Jahandar Shah. There is much in the first MS. which a student of history may feel interested in, specially the account of Syed Jalaluddin alias Shah Niamatullah of Firozpur, in Bengal, who wrote Tafsir-i-Jahangiri, was honoured by Nawab Saif Khan, the Governor of Bengal and Bihar, and prince Shah Shuja and Aurangzeb, composed Hindi[29] Dohras, and was met by the author in jamadi 1079, a few months before his death. As for the technicalities of Shuttari Sufism, elaborately dealt with in this MS., these are based largely on the extremely rare and valuable work, Minhaj-us-Shuttar by Sh. Qazin, the saint of Bania Basarh, edited and named Maadanul Asrar by the latter's son-in-law and disciple, Makhdum Sh. Ali Manjhan Rajgiri[30], the son of Syed Md. Ghakkan of Jaunpur. Besides the mystical and theological ideas which have been made to corres-

26. Also named Muqtabasul Anwar. Copy consulted is good but is old and undated : contains 244 fol. lines 15 : the author died 1130. or 1717 AD.

27. Two Mss., one very damaged and the other with 68 fol. each of 23 lines, and divided into 61 Fasals, was written by Md. Nadir on 17 Ziqad 1121.

28. Khazinatul Ansab which contains a copy of the Farman granted by emperor Farrukhseyar.

29. Ye Dukh Meri Kān Sun Kahun Subh Sahāy—Jo Diya So Thar Rahā Jo Rakhā So Jay.

30. A Hasani Syed who lies buried at Mariamtola in Bihar near the Rauza of Hazrat Badr Alam Zahidi. He married Bibi Khonja Daulat, the daughter of Sh. Qazin. He also wrote Mazharul Asrar which was a translation of Fawaid us Shuttar.

pond with positive and real teachings of orthodox Islam, the book contains something about the life and thoughts of the saintly author which cannot but attract one's attention.

The author of Maadan-ul-Asrar or Manahij-us-Shuttar frequently refers to and names himself as "this mean slave (of God) Md. alias Qazin Bin Ola Bin Alam Tirhuti Maneri Hashmi" because his father, Alauddin, son of Alam was the fifth in descent from Makhdum Ismael whose father, Imam Taj Faqih, a direct descendant of Abu Darda[31], an uncle of the Prophet of Islam, was one of the first of the Muslim missioneries in India, and he is said to have wrested Maner in Patna district in 576 or 1180 A.D. from Rajah Maniyar, as is evident from the chronogram "Din Md. Shud qavi".[32] The Imam is said to have left his two sons, Israel, grand father of the celebrated Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar and Abdul Aziz, the ancestor of the Kako and Shaikhpura[33] (Monghyr) families of saints to propagate Islam in south Bihar while he deputed his other son, Ismael, to preach his faith in Tirhut (North Bihar). Sh. Qazin appears to have been born in the last decade of the 8th century A.H. and not in 838 for he is said to have been[34] authorised at an early stage of his career to preach the principles of Madaria order of Sufism by Sh. Hismauddin Salamati[35] who died in 840.

According to one of his direct descendants, the author of Miftah-ul-Fuqara, Shaikh Qazin, son of Makhdum Qazi Alauddin, passed his early life, since he was twelve years old, as a student at village Shaikhpura, in the Sarkar of Saran, and lived with Syed

31. This has been taken from a very old Mss. which contains the Ijazat Nama of Hazrat Muzaffar Bulkhi in favour of his nephew and successor Makhdoom Husain Bulkhi, dated 842. But in Zaria-i-Daulat' Zobair bin Abdul Matallib bin Hashim is substituted for Abu Darda.

32. Zaria-i-Daulat, a late work, contains the couplet "Yaft Chun Bar Raja-i-Manyar Zafar-Dad Imam Az Din Jahanera-Navi-Hast Manqul Az Buzurgan-i-Salaf-Sali An Din 1 Muhammad Shud Qavi."

33. Manaqib-ul-Asfia by Shah Shoaib, a grandson of M. Abdul Azis, is one of the earliest and the most authentic authority on the Maner and Bihar family of saints.

34. Hamid Quraishi in Monuments of Bihar has taken this wrong date from K.A.

35. Fusul-i-Masudia and Tazkirat-ul-Muttaqin.

Zainul Abdin, alias Shah Miran Zahid Shah Badhe Hussaini Chisti. The latter was the disciple and son-in-law of his maternal uncle, a famous Chisti Saint, named Shah Ahmad Isa Taj of Jaunpur who lies buried at Bhainsasoor in Biharsharif, and was himself a daughter's son of the celebrated Suharwardi Saint, Syed Jalal Bukhari. Shaikh Qazin was brought up in an atmosphere of Chisti Sufism by Syed Zahid Shah Badhe of Saran who also gave his daughter, Bibi Makka, in marriage to him. The word 'Qazin' in his name is perhaps derived from "Qazi" the office of which appears to have been held by some of his direct ancestors, such as his father, grandfather and great-grand-father. He had a brother, Shah Muhammad, who migrated to Bengal, says the author of Miftah-ul-Fuqara. Unfortunately we know nothing about his work and that of his descendants in Bengal.

Though saturated with the principles of Chistia, Suharwardia, and Madaria orders of Sufism for a long time, he did not accept any one as his spiritual guide and says that he wandered about for twelve years in search of 'Shuhud" through one who was absolutely free from worldly tinge. The writings of Sh. Fariduddin Attar and Makhdum Sharfuddin of Bihar were a source of inspiration to him and he used frequently to keep quarantine at the cell of Maulana Muzaffar[36] Balkhi in the shrine of the great saint of Bihar Sharif. He did not at first feel attracted towards his future spiritual guide, Sh. Abdullah Shuttari, when the latter came to Bihar during the course of his journey to Bengal and Jaunpur before proceeding to Mandu where he finally settled down and died. The challenge of Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari to every 'seeker' to come to him to teach or be taught principles of Tauhid, and his pompous tours made perhaps an unfavourable impression upon him at first. At long last, however, he was prevailed upon by his friends and fellow workers, such as Ahmad Muhammad, Abdul

36. A very learned and pious saint of royal extraction whose Maktubat contains, among other things, correspondence with Sultan Ghiasuddin of Bengal He died in 788. or 1386 A.D.

Hakim, and Shaikh Saadullah to accompany them from Bihar to Mandu. For three days the saint of Mandu took no notice of him and for several months in hot summer the corpulent Sh. Qazin waited daily upon Shaikh Abdullah Shuttari performing obeisance and perspiring from head to foot due to the intense heat of the hilly region. At last one day to test his earnestness he was instructed to practise incessant fasting called Tai. In the meanwhile, another occasion arose to test his devotion to duty. His companion, Abdul Hakim Bihari, fell so seriously ill that no hope was left of his life. Through his able nursing and blessings of the saints and grace of God he, however, recovered. Though still very weak, he requested Sh. Qazin to take him back to Bihar so that he might see his children. The Shaikh was torn between two sentiments, the desire to complete his period of probation under the saint of Mandu so as to attain his ends in the next world and the sense of duty and fidelity to a fellow man in this world. He told the saint of Mandu that though he had left his small children and covered a distance of about 500 kos to learn his spiritual lessons from the addressee, he had decided to discharge his duty by his friend, and he was permitted to do so. On the fourth day of the journey, however, his friend gladly allowed him to return to Mandu to complete his austerities. He was well received and on the night of Friday, the fourth Zihijja, 881, he was formally initiated in the order of the Shuttaris and received instructions in 'Khas-ul-Khas.' He was then directed to return to Bihar and continue his mission. The saint of Basarh has narrated the whole of this episode in the 21st and 35th of about 60 chapters of his book so as to show how a disciple has to undergo many trials and tribulations and how he has to develop a genuine feeling of devotion to his spiritual guide.

During the remaining 20 years of a fairly long life Shaikh Qazin was engaged in propagating Islam and instructing people in the principles and practice of Shuttari School of Sufism in Bihar. The Southern portion of Muzaffarpur District was the special field of his activity and it is at Basarh, on the historic

site of ancient Vaisali, and "about 300 yards[37] south west of the ruined fort" on the top of a huge mound of a stupa of solid brick work, about 24 ft. high, with a diameter of 40 ft. at the base, and approached by a large flight of steps that his tomb and that of his eldest son are still an object of veneration on the part of a large number of people. "This tomb," wrote Cunningham, "is generally believed[38] to be five hundred years old.". .He was wrongly informed that the saint's name and that of his son were Mir Abdul and Makhdum respectively. An annual fair is held at the ruined Basarh stupa with the tombs on it "When men of all ages dance round the holy spot with switches and fans in their hands, chanting a dirge of some kind" Cunningham rightly thought this fair to be a pre-Muslim festival as the occurrence of it is regulated by solar reckoning of the Hindus and not by the lunar years of the Muslims. It is reasonable to suppose that "the Muslim[39] saint used to take advantage of the annual gathering for preaching the law of Islam to the people." "The fact that ever since his appearance in this country this fair has been held at his residence and burial place would indicate that he must have been a very celebrated preacher."

It is on record[40] that the eldest son of the saint, Makhdum Owais, called Mansur Hallaj Shahid, in his proselytizing zeal, and while attempting to erect[41] a mosque on the ruins of another, built later, which can still be seen at the foot of the stupa mound, was killed by a Cheru chief. Tradition about the former occupation of a considerable part of the regions in the districts of Muzaffarpur and Saran by Cheru Chai tribes was very strong till the time of Cunningham who found traces of the ruins of the forts and towers of Cheru Rajas in Cherand Chapra[42], Dighwa Dubuli, Jauridih and elsewhere. Besides Makhdum Owais,

37. A.S.I.R. Vol. XVI.
38. Ibid.
39. Monuments of Bihar by Hamid Quraishi.
40. Nasab-nama-i-Maner, "He died a martyr at Bania Basarh in the fight against the Cherus".
41. M. B. by Quaraishi.
42. A.S.I. A. Vo. XVI.

whose fourth lineal descendant was Diwan Ruknuddin, the saint of[43] Jandaha (D.1117), Sh. Qazin,had two other sons and a daughter, all probably born of the daughter of the Chisti saint, Syed Zahid[44] alias Shah Badh, whose place of birth and burial was the town of Saran. The second son, M. Abdul Rahman Shuttari[45] who lies buriedonan elevated ground in Saraiyaganj Muhalla of Muzaffarpur has as his chief disciple, Jalaluddin Hafiz[46] Nasihi, also of Saran, who was one of the spiritual guides of the celebrated Shah[47] Diwan Daulat (D. 1017), whose Mausoleum at Maner, perhaps the most magnificant in the whole province, was erected by Tangar Quli Badakshani at the instance of Ibrahim Khan Kakar a noble of emperor Jahangir. The third and the most famous son and spiritual guide, among others, of Shah Taj Manghan of Patna, was Abul Fatah Hadiatullah Sarmast who was born in 838 and died in 947 and lies buried at Tankol, near Hajipur, on the bank of the Gandak. He was married with the daughter of Shah Md. Sharif of Chandhaus, a descendant of the Sufi saint, Zaiauddin Suharwardi. Emperor Humayun, on the occasion of his conquest of Gaur, is said to have met him and wanted to take him to Agra but owing to his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah he could not do so. We are told by Mulla Naseer[48] that the emperor had bestowed a considerable property in Tirhut on the saint for the expenses of the way farers etc., which was confiscated from his son, Rukn Alam, by Sher Shah. It is through him and his disciple that the influence of the Shuttari order spread far and wide in the country and elsewhere.

43. See the article in Calcutta Review 1891.

44. "His head never bent except in meditation, his eyes chose nothing better than shedding tears, he had no attachment in his bosom except the burning love of God, and he called to his mind nothing except the re-collections of God."

45. A.J.R.

46. Known also as Hafiz Manjhan Jalal Nasihi. He lies buried at Village Sepaha in Saran Dt..

47. Pr. All India Oriental Conference, Patna : also Maasir-ul-Umara.

48. Maqabir-i-Aulia a Husainabad Ms.

Indeed, there were many personages amongst thedescendants and followers of Sh. Qazin of Basarh who carried on his legacy and established their reputation for piety and learning. He himself set a good example and laid down noble ideals for his followers. There is nothing startlingly novel or in any way heterodox in his teachings. He says that the perfect state of a Darvesh is that in which his outward forms and practices are in accord with the positive religious commandments of Shariat and his inward part (heart) is full of eternal truths or Haqiqat. He follows the path of truth or Tariqat and possesses spiritual knowledge or Marifat. He likens Shariat to a boat, Tariqat to a river, and Haqiqat to the pearls. The seeker or Talib follows the code of Divine law, adheres to all that has been affiimed, and shuns all that is forbidden, and purifieshimself of all sinful acts such as lies, slander etc. In the 44th Chapter which is devoted to Tariqat he writes, among other things, that those who follow the true path refrain not only from all that caters to the senses and passions but avoids even that enjoyment which is permitted. People generally want comfort and affluence but the true seeker is self-sacrificing and anxious to do all that is possible to fulfil the wants of others at his own expense. If they don't get what they want they feel pleased for so long as a man is slave to his own desires he cannot be the true slave of God. He is free from jealousy, hypocrisy, miserliness and cupidity, pride and self-conceit, anger and revenge, and false display of piety etc. As the prayer of a man with an unclean body but pure clothes can never be acceptable, even so one whose heart entertains evil thoughts, though his body is clean and pure, can never have a true concentration on God.

For want of space we cannot consider the chapters devoted to Ishq', 'Mashrab-i-Shuttar' etc. but his observations regarding the ways of many of the so called Sufis who subordinate the code of the prophet to the prejudices, manners and customs of the age are well worth our attention. "Such men", he says, "never wish that the people should detect their faults; never will they dare go to the bazar with the long vest, turban and caps on nor will

they ever disgrace themselves by going personally to a weaver or cobbler. Self worshippers, as distinguished from God's worshippers, sit in a corner so as to display themselves as men of rectitude, venerable shaikhs and leaders living retired life. To impress people they put on a sad countenance and make a show of moving their bodies, heave sighs crying 'Ah' and then begin to talk of Suluk (advancement in a spiritual life) and like a Mulla who has read only a few pages and a little about the principles of divorce, manumission of slaves, purchase and sale etc. they seem to unfold this thing in such a way as to display their power to explain clearly subtile things. They speak in a subdued voice so that the people may realise that owing to austerities and self mortifications and reduced dietary the Shaikh's strength of speech has become diminished and his face has become pale. What a perfect austerity? They make a show of keeping the Tai fasting for a few days to show that the Shaikh has voluntarily cut down his meals. If they have to join a feast they lift their morsels with only two fore-fingers and observe absolute silence to make people think that the Shaikh is engaged in deep contemplation and meditation... His eminence of the Shaikh is found, day and night, with rosary in hands and with the Quran on the Rihal, in front, and with few books on mysticism all around him on the Sajjada he is sitting on while the devotees are respectfully standing by. Having erected a sort of platform like an idol temple he is seen seated on a tiger skin or an extended prayer carpet, garbed in mystic dress such as a broad-sleeved Pairahan (long robe) or Hazar mekhi (a Darvesh's habit closely stitched) or Mush-dandani, (a garment made of shreds and patches) pallet or a blanket with a big Dastar (turban) on his auspicious head in such a way as to look like a spiritual leader and attract people towards his great self. Men of ordinary run and even gentries kiss the hand of the Shaikh who is beside himself with joy as he considers concourse of people around him as a sign of his greatness, perfection, and nearness to God. His self deception is like that of the accursed Satan who was rejected on this very ground. Those who serve as the slipper bearer

of the men of God do discover the subterfuges of ego and their hidden infidelity". In the end, the saintly author says that all that he has written represents his own condition and is based on his personal experiences. He has exposed the fraud and subterfuges of his ownself. He concludes with a couplet :— "Those who see through my self-conceit, even if they be hard drunkards, they will refrain from keeping company with me. Were I to lay bare my real conditions before a dog, even that animal would begin to abstain from me."

Writing about the ways of procuring lawful food so as to sustain life and strength in order to perform special acts of devotion such as Zikr (recital) Aurad (devotional exercises) etc., the saint makes special mention of dry bread or '*Bhat* khusk' (boiled rice) and Asham Biranj (rice gruel) with which one can break one's fast and says that one can, without any violence to one's consicience, borrow grain from non-believers, and pay off the debt as soon as one gets some thing from one's own arable fields or trade. He compares in this connection the state of things obtaining in his own days with that in the time of the celebrated saint of Biharshariff whose next door neighbour, a Hindu grocer, used to supply grain for the expenses of the Khanqah up to the value of 1000 Tankas after which the whole debt was cleared off. "These days," he laments, "such a thing is difficult" and, therefore, one has to remain content with only getting a loan of bare necessity which can easily be paid off from grain grown in the field or money acquired through trade or lawful means. At any rate one should be quite fair and above board in one's dealings with others. It is due to the purity of character as much as to spiritual advancement that a man of God has effectiveness in his prayers.

The author here relates a story which is of cultural importance. 'Some one asked Makhdum Jahanian Syed Jalalul Haq Wad Din[49] as to why when he read and wrote the same

49. The present writer has the honour to trace his direct lineal descent from this celebrated Saint who died at the age of 81—in 788 and lies buried at Uchch in Sindh.

thing as the addressee, there was no response to his prayers such as to that of the saint, the latter replied in Hindi 'Khanda Hai Phanda Kahan" (The pit is there but where is the noose) meaning thereby that the real means of attaining God was wanting. The Hindi words and expressions occurring in this rare book and in other Malfuzat of even an earlier period are extremely valuable. The verb 'Hai', so characteristic of Khari-Boli, and absent from Prakritic dialects, is significant. It appears to have been directly borrowed from Persian, also an Aryan speech, as is evident from the use of 'Hai' in old Persian verses. One instance from the Diwan of the celebrated mystic poet of Iran, Hafiz Shirazi, will suffice to establish this contention. He writes "Saqi Agarat Hawai Ma *Hai* Juz Bādā Mayār Pesh-i-Ma Shai." We get very good examples of linguistic assimilation[50] in the writings and utterances of the Sufi saints. They utter expressions containing significant Hindusthani terms the use of which must have been indispensably necessary for their spiritual work. The Muqtabasul Anwar[51] of the Shuttari saint, M. Imamuddin Rajgiri, and a rare autograph copy of the Bayaz of Sayed Jaffar Qadri Shuttari, the saint of Barh, a contemporary of Shah Jahan, contain not only the Persian but also the "Hindi" formulas used in practising Zikr and originally prescribed by the celebrated Chisti saint, Baba Farid Shakerganj of Pakpattan (D. 668).[52] The Zikr is the act of drawing the sound of certain syllables of the creed from sides, front, naval, brain etc. containing 8 such acts. The aim is to awaken the organ of spiritual apprehensions into active remembrance of God. The Shuttari saints also believe

50. See the writer's paper in J.B.O.R.S., Patna, on the historical importance of his Malfuzat and Maktubat of a fourteenth century saint of Bihar (Makhdum Sharfuddin Yahya Maneīr). Among other things "Bat Bhali Par Sankri" and "Des Bhala Par Door" have been quoted from Maadan-ul-Muani compiled in 746. Elsewhere the writer has quoted from the sayings of Hazrat Syed Muhammad Qadir of Amjhar (Gaya) "Na Mana Jiva Inha Na Rahna"

51. Aurad-i-Imamuddin Rajgiri.

52. The famous disciple of Khawaja Bakhtiyar Kaki. Sultan Naseeruddin and Balban were very much devoted to him. Many of his Hindi Dohras and Kafias etc. have been quoted and published See the third 'Munhij' wherein he makes mention of the Azkars of Persian, Hindi, Arabic and 'Suluk-i-Yogia' which are in abundance in Risala-i-Shuttar by Hazrat Jafar Qadri Shuttari of Barh and other treatises.

in, and practise what they call 'Hasht Rukni zikr' and it is significant that the Shuttari saint of Rajgir definitely makes mention of Yoga practices of the Hindus which the sufis also were in the habit of observing. The formulas referred to above, shorn off of other technicalities, is as follows :—"Haun Ohi Hai ; Ohan Tun ; Ai Heen Hi ; In Han Tun; Inhan Tun ; Hoon, Hoon ; OOhan Tun ; Ohi Ehi Anhi.